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May 16, 1994~~SECRET/NODIS~~ DECAPTIONED
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MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY

FROM: Strobe (ST)
SUBJECT: Daily Activity ReportBosnia: The Way Ahead

In response to your concern about next steps, Peter, Steve and the Bosnia team are working hard to achieve our most immediate objectives: 1) to convince the parties to participate without preconditions in the first meeting to be arranged by the Contact Group, and 2) to urge the Russians to take the most constructive attitude possible in the preparatory work for that meeting. Although the public statements of both sides indicate that they are prepared to accept an invitation from the Contact Group, we should not let up in our efforts to that end. The joint letter from all participants in the Geneva ministerial should be delivered on May 17-18, to be closely followed by your personal message to Izetbegovic. Churkin should already have met with Milosevic; Owen and Stoltenberg are scheduled to be in Belgrade on May 17.

With the Russians, the President's reply to Yeltsin will focus on the need for continued cooperation, especially in the work of the Contact Group, if we are to maintain the united front which will be most effective with the warring parties. Because of Kozyrev's performance in Geneva and the urgent need to get a firm message to the Russians on what is at stake here, I asked Jim Collins to go to Moscow himself and talk to Kozyrev and Mamedov. He will do so Wednesday (we hope with the President's letter to Yeltsin in hand). Further steps will then depend on Russian behavior in Contact Group meetings in Washington May 19-20.

~~SECRET/NODIS~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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The Washington meetings on May 19-20 will develop territorial alternatives, which can be reviewed by capitals before the Contact Group meets again on May 24 to prepare its presentation to the parties. EUR reports that the Contact Group plans to convene the parties to talks on May 25-26; the French would like to host, but have not yet fixed on an appropriate location. If the first round of talks is successful, the Group would convene a second round the following week (June 2-3), with the aim of making new recommendations for Ministers thereafter.

Haiti

Bill Gray had a good first full day on the job, beginning with a courtesy call on Bill Perry and lunch with Jack Sheehan and other senior DoD and JCS-types. The basic message from the Generals remains that they sure hope we can solve this diplomatically. We then had our first meeting of the Haiti High Level Group, which Bill participated in actively. That session again focussed on the scope and mandate of UNMIH. Our goal is now to get our own position sufficiently clear to allow us to participate productively in a discussion among the Friends of Haiti scheduled by the UN Secretariat on Wednesday (Madeleine and Dobbins will represent us). Finally, I introduced Bill to all the hemispheric ambassadors and the OAS representatives this afternoon. We used that meeting to put them on notice we'll be coming back to many of them individually for help with refugees and UNMIH. They pushed us hard for more specifics on both than we were able to give in this initial consultation. Earlier today, the President had a good conversation with Major on using Turks and Caicos for refugee processing; I'd say we are 80 percent of the way to a "yes" from the British on this.

Meanwhile in Haiti, Acting Prime Minister Malval took an angry and defiant tone in his press conference. He called on General Cédras to leave and accused him of leading Haiti "down a path of infamy." Malval also denounced "President" Jonassaint, claiming that he was "not the President of the republic....the only legitimate government is my government which has resigned pending designation and ratification of my constitutional successor." Malval stopped short of endorsing an invasion of Haiti to remove the military leaders. The White House issued a strong statement today condemning Jonassaint's new "cabinet" as the latest affront to democracy.

China: Marching Towards June 3

In the wake of the Armacost mission, the main shortfalls are in the two most sensitive areas -- Tibet and prisoners accounting/release. On Tibet, the Chinese took an unyielding

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stance with Armacost, but there is still a slim possibility they might agree to talks with the Dalai Lama or his representatives once we issue a public reaffirmation that we consider Tibet to be part of China (we did that today at the noon briefing and have brought this to the attention of the Chinese). Although we have achieved some very significant prisoner releases, recent detentions plus new restrictive regulations continue to obscure and offset progress. There will be a major campaign by human rights groups this week criticizing the Chinese record. The Chinese have proposed to hold expert talks on VOA jamming on May 20 in Beijing, and we are working with USIA to try to meet this date.

Per your instructions, we are working on a draft of your report to the President (three versions) as well as themes for his own statement. We will send this material in draft form to you Wednesday evening for reading on your way home. There are two main issues for debate: has there been "overall significant progress"?; if not, should we impose a partial sanction on the way to a new policy? There will probably be a Principals' meeting right after your return. In meantime, we will continue to make clear that you have not decided on your position.

RWANDA: Latest at the UN

An interagency team led by IO/PDAS Ward reached agreement today with the UN Secretariat on the following phased approach in Rwanda. As a first step, the UN Mission in Rwanda would be reinforced by returning to Rwanda 179 military observers currently in Nairobi and by bringing the Ghanaian contingent in Kigali up to battalion strength. According to the approach worked out in New York, we would also agree in principle to expand UNAMIR up to 5,500 personnel, contingent upon progress in UN talks with the parties on a ceasefire and mission objectives, and with member states on resources. The new resolution would also impose an embargo against arms and related material shipments to Rwanda. The Secretary General would be required to report by May 31. Following that report, the Council would consider a new resolution. Informal discussions then began on this approach among UNSC members. Initial reports indicate that the French and African delegations have serious differences with our approach and are demanding immediate authorization for the full force of 5,500 personnel, without clear consensus on where the resources would come from or what the mandate would be. We are pushing back hard on these two key missing pieces and arguing the logic of our own approach. A vote could come this evening or tomorrow.

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North Korea

IAEA inspectors are expected to arrive in Pyongyang Tuesday, March 17 to complete the March inspections and conduct maintenance activities necessary to maintain the continuity of safeguards. The DPRK has announced that for "safety reasons" the replacement of fuel rods has already begun at the 5MW reactor without IAEA presence. We need the IAEA to confirm the DPRK assurances that the technical possibility for fuel measurement has been fully preserved before we can publicly announce the date for a third round of U.S.-DPRK talks. If the North defers refueling or does so in a way which would preserve the option of future measurement of the fuel, we could at the earliest proceed to a third round on June 1. If however, the DPRK has discharged fuel resulting in an irretrievable loss of reactor operating history, we have said we will end our dialogue and return the issue to the UNSC and seek sanctions. We expect to receive a report from the IAEA on Wednesday or Thursday.

Obey Markup

House Appropriations Chairman Obey has scheduled markup of the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill for Wednesday, May 18. H is coordinating the interagency effort to obtain the best possible Bill and is obtaining, inter alia, papers, letters, and legislative language from various elements of the Department in response to Obey staff requests.

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